ergo prima Romanis inita prouinciarum, quae quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita est') provides more than merely a vague *terminus post quem* for the completion of that passage. A crude projection based on his lifetime writing average would place the composition of Book 28 around 19 or 18 B.C., right at the time of final victory in 19 B.C. By itself, this coincidence would not necessarily carry much weight. However, viewed in the context of Livy's putative response to current events in Books 1, 3 and 59, his comment may well have been much more closely linked to current events than previously realized.

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TEXTS AND TOPOGRAPHY

'To *be* a textual critic', Housman famously remarked, 'requires aptitude for thinking and willingness to think; and though it also requires other things, those things are supplements and cannot be substitutes.'[1] One of those things is a map.

At *Fasti* 6.191–2 Ovid appends a brief note to his treatment of the Carnaria, remarking that the same day, the Kalends of June, is also sacred to Mars. In the Teubner text of Alton, Wormell and Courtney (1978), from which the accompanying apparatus is also taken, the location of Mars' temple is described as beside a road within sight of the Porta Capena:

> lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicit extra
> adpositum Tectae porta Capena Viae.
>
> 192 tectae $\zeta\omega$: dextrae U_S

The situation of the temple by the Via Appia is known from many sources,[2] but this passage is the only testimony for a Via Tecta in the vicinity. And on the strength of the variant *tectae* the Via Tecta has found a place in the topographical lexica. The name has been taken to refer to an otherwise unattested portico near the temple;[3] or as a reference to its paving, ascribing to *tectus* a sense which is found nowhere else,[4] an interpretation adopted in the most recent commentary.[5] A glance at a map is in order

[1] 'The application of thought to textual criticism', *PCA* 18 (1922), 84 = J. Diggle and F.R.D. Goodyear (edd.), *The Classical Papers of A.E. Housman*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1972), 1069.

[2] Cf. L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992), 244–5; L. Haselberger (ed.), *Mapping Augustan Rome. JRA* Suppl. 50 (Portsmouth, RI, 2002), 165; A. La Regina (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae – Suburbium* (Rome, 2006), 44–5.

[3] S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome* (Oxford, 1926), 123–4, 568. This interpretation is also adopted in *OLD* s.v. *tectus* 1a.

[4] Richardson (n. 2), 419. Richardson notes that it is more likely that *tecta* would refer to a 'covered' way or a portico, but rightly observes there is no evidence of such a structure and thus is led to impose upon *tecta* a meaning that it cannot bear and that he cannot (and does not) support with evidence. None of the relevant topographical lexica discusses the variant *dextrae*, which was perhaps unknown to them, in which case it might be said that just as textual critics ought to consult maps more often, mapmakers might sometimes profit from consulting an apparatus criticus.

[5] R. Joy Littlewood, *A Commentary on Ovid's* Fasti*, Book 6* (Oxford, 2006), 63.

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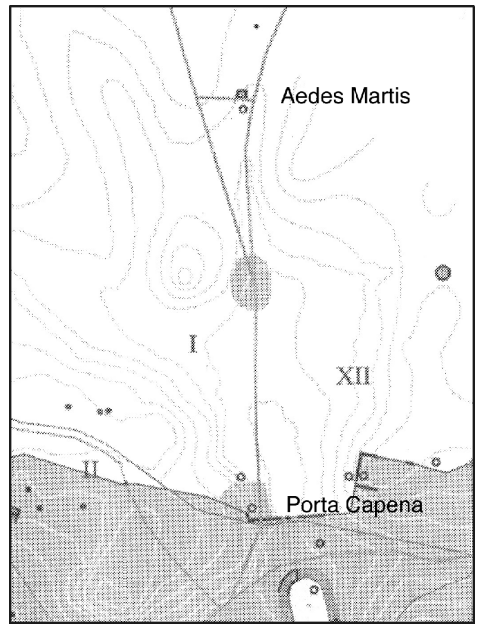


FIG. 1 Situation of the Aedes Martis on the Via Appia as seen from the Porta Capena (adapted from Haselberger).

(Fig. 1), while recognizing, of course, that a map, however carefully drawn, is only as good as the knowledge of the topography that underlies it.

The temple of Mars was located on the Via Appia just past the first milestone, where the ground slopes upward, thus making the temple more visible from the city. But, as one looked out (*prospicit*) from the Porta Capena, one would see also the fork in the road about 800 metres out, where the Via Latina branched to the left, while the Via Appia, where the temple was located, headed south or to the right: read *dextrae*.[6] It is interesting to note that the variant *tectae* may be ancient, for there was a well-known Via Tecta, a 'covered way' with a portico (as *tecta* rightly denotes), crossing the Campus Martius at least by the mid first century C.E., although there is no evidence for it in the Augustan period.[7] The corruption of *dextrae* to *tectae* probably belongs to a copyist who knew of this road and unconsciously assumed that Ovid was referring to a temple of Mars in the Campus.

[6] Early commentators puzzled over the meaning of *tectae*, but without a clear picture of the topography could only guess at why *dextrae* might be right. Thus Carlo di Napoli, *Anaptyxis ad Fastos P. Ovidii Nasonis* (Antwerp, 1638) ad loc., somewhat hesitatingly, 'ac si bivium extra portam fuisset, dextrâque viâ templum istud positum.' So too Raffaello Fabretti, *De aquis et aquæductibus veteris Romae dissertationes tres* (Rome, 1680), as reported by Burman in his long note on this passage, 'ex cuius sententia cum Via Latina ex Appia initium ceperit paullulum a porta Capena, potuit hoc templum post devortium illud ita positum fuisse, ut appositum fuerit Viae Appiae, quam a dextra habebat, cum a sinistra esset Latina.' Burman himself concluded, 'sed haec adhuc luce clariore indigent.' For the expression *dextra uia*, cf. Plaut. fr. 105 *domum ire coepi tramite dextra uia*, Verg. *Aen*. 6.541–2 *hic locus est, partis ubi se uia findit in ambas:* | *dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit*, *TLL* s.v. *dexter* 921.75–922.4, 922.63–7.

[7] Haselberger (n. 2), 263–4.

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Sometimes, in order to be guided to the right variant, it is also important to have an up-to-date map. Elsewhere in the sixth book of the *Fasti* editors have been misled by an earlier view of the topography of the Forum and the Palatine, now generally recognized as mistaken. At 6.395–7 Ovid tells about returning home during the Vestalia:

> Forte reuertebar festis Vestalibus illa,
> quae Noua Romano nunc uia iuncta foro est.
> huc pede matronam uidi descendere nudo.
>
> 396 quae M_S : qua UGω

The strained Latinity of the construction *illa quae … uia … iuncta … est* led some earlier editors (e.g. Merkel) to prefer the variant *qua*, but there is also the matter of the street layout, which was not lost on all editors, even if they were not entirely successful in squaring Merkel's reading with the topography.[8] But the Teubner text of Alton, Wormell and Courtney (1978), reproduced above, reflects the view, which is not supported by the archaeological or literary record, that in Augustan Rome the Nova Via continued around the north slope of the Palatine to connect with the Vicus Tuscus.[9] On this reading *nunc* too points a problem, since the Nova Via, despite its name, was a very ancient thoroughfare. In support of this road plan, some have assumed that Ovid must have been headed in the general direction of the Forum or the Capitol, supposing that that was where his home was located.[10] It is a reasonable inference that Ovid was returning home, even though he does not explicitly say so, but it is not reasonable to assume a location for that home and then impose that interpretation upon the text and topography. We simply do not know where Ovid lived at the moment he is describing, but if it was the home that he mentions at *Tristia* 1.3.29–30, we know that it was *not* on the Capitol:

> hanc [*sc.* Lunam] suspiciens et ab hac Capitolia cernens
> quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere Lari

On Ovid's last night in Rome he gazes *up* at the moon and then at the Capitol, by which he clearly means the sacred precinct with the Temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, where there was no housing.[11] Nor was that likely to be the view looking up from the bottom of the Capitol's steep slopes and retaining walls. Ovid's house had a view of the Capitol and a logical candidate for such a location would be the north-east slopes of the neighbouring (*iuncta*; cf. *OLD* s.v. *iungere* 4b) Palatine.[12]

Commentators who infer that Ovid was proceeding along the Nova Via from the temple of Jupiter Stator, must also make the somewhat irrational assumption that the

[8] For instance, both J.G. Frazer, *P. Ovidius Naso: Fastorum Libri Sex* (London, 1929), ad loc. and R. Schilling, *Ovide:* Les Fastes*. Tome II: Livres IV–VI* (Paris 1993), 182 n. 124, print Merkel's text while assuming that the Nova Via continued around the Palatine and descended to the Velabrum.

[9] There is no physical evidence that the Nova Via ever continued beyond the Scalae Graecae; cf. Haselberger (n. 2), 182. The only evidence to suggest that the Nova Via ever followed this route is a difficult and corrupt passage in Varro, *Ling.* 5.43. While adducing this passage in support of this theory, Richardson (n. 2), 269 concedes that by Ovid's time the Nova Via terminated at the Scalae Graecae.

[10] Cf., e.g., Littlewood (n. 5), 126.

[11] Cf. Haselberger (n. 2), 78–9.

[12] Thus F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten. Band II* (Heidelberg, 1958), 366*,* without recognizing the implications for the text.

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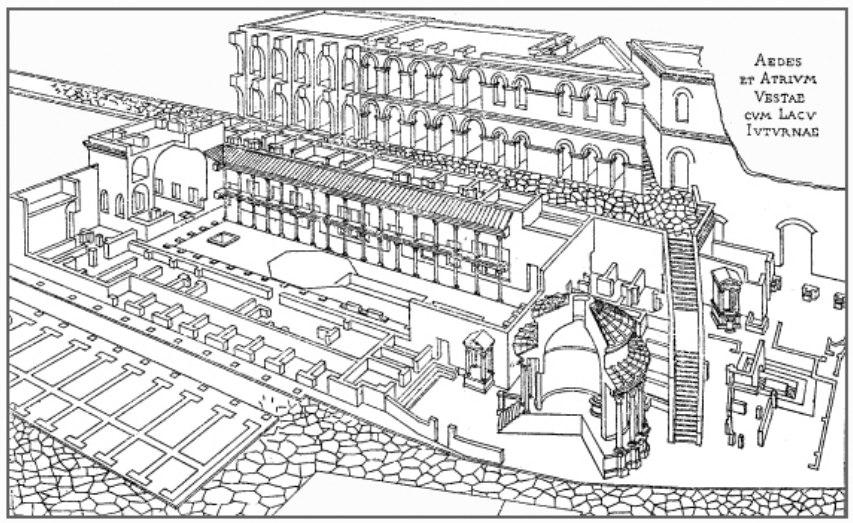


FIG. 2 The Scalae Graecae viewed from the Forum Romanum (from C. Hülsen, *Das Forum Romanum: seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler*, 2nd ed. [Rome, 1905], 207).

reference to the Vestalia does not also suggest that he was coming from the vicinity of Vesta's temple. They must then wrestle with the mechanisms by which Ovid managed to encounter a woman descending, when he was himself walking downhill. The clear implication is that Ovid was *ascending* toward the Palatine when he encountered the barefoot woman *descending* toward him (*huc*) at the point where the Nova Via connected with the Forum. This was located at the north-west corner of the Palatine, just above the temple of Vesta, where a stepped ramp descended to the Forum, known as the Scalae Graecae (Fig. 2).[13] Ovid was returning home by that route (read *illac*), where (read *qua*) the Nova Via was connected to the Forum, heading for the Clivus Palatinus. That the construction of the ramp was fairly recent is indicated both by Ovid (*nunc*) and by traces of its reconstruction.[14] As often in the *Fasti*, Ovid is making links not only temporally, but spatially, as he literally moves about within the narratives pertaining to Vesta.

It has been suggested that Ovid's descriptions of the monuments of the city in the *Fasti* and the exile poetry are less than precise because he was withholding that kind of ecphrastic panegyric until he was recalled.[15] That is a provocative idea, but we must also keep in mind that for Ovid and his first readers the streetscapes of Augustan Rome were vivid in the mind and might be evoked by just a few words or phrases. Writing from Tomi, Ovid occasionally waxes melancholy in his recollections of the city, especially the city as reshaped by the princeps (*Pont*. 1.8.33–8):

[13] Cf. Haselberger (n. 2), 221; F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano: Periodo Arcaico* (Rome, 1983), 236–7. In her recent commentary, Littlewood (n. 5), who adopts the text of Alton, Wormell and Courtney, prints a plan of this part of the Forum on which the Scalae Graecae are omitted and the Nova Via is erroneously shown continuing along the north-west slope of the Palatine.

[14] M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1993–9), 4.241–2.

[15] S. Green, 'Playing with marble: the monuments of the Caesars in Ovid's *Fasti*', *CQ* 54 (2004), 224–39.

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aque domo rursus pulchrae loca uertor ad Vrbis,
cunctaque mens oculis peruidet illa suis:
nunc fora, nunc aedes, nunc marmore tecta theatra,
nunc subit aequata porticus omnis humo,
gramina nunc Campi pulchros spectantis in hortos
stagnaque et euripi Virgineusque liquor.

It is not just the city that Ovid misses: it is the parts of it that were magnificently rebuilt by Augustus,[16] with its new Fora, temples, stone theatres (*marmore tecta theatra*), of which there were now three, and porticoes, including those of Octavia and Livia. *Fora* here is not simply a generalizing plural: it refers to the imposing new Augustan complex which included the Fora of Julius Caesar and Augustus,[17] and it should be capitalized in modern editions. In the final couplet he takes us to the Campus, vividly evoking the recreational amenities newly erected there by Agrippa (Fig. 3). *Stagna* refers to the Stagnum Agrippae, the artificial lake constructed by Agrippa to the west of his baths in the Campus and left in his will to the Roman people. It was large enough for Nero to host a banquet on a raft in its waters, as retailed by Tacitus (*Ann*. 15.37).[18] In Ovid, the plural is probably a poetic convenience, as there were no other *stagna* in Rome at the time of Augustus, and it should also be capitalized. As printed in modern editions, *euripi Virgineusque liquor* 'the canals and the water of the Maiden', is a vague generalizing reference to unspecified water canals in the city and the fresh water supplied by Agrippa's Aqua Virgo. The Aqua Virgo was dedicated by Agrippa in 19 B.C.E. and fed the baths that he built in the Campus, along with the adjacent Stagnum.[19] Its waters were known for their coolness and purity; cf. *gelidissima Virgo* (*Ars am.* 3.385), *defessos artus Virgine tingit aqua* (*Tr.* 3.12.22). The name was explained by a story that a young girl pointed out the source (Frontin. *Aq*. 1.10), although other stories were current (Plin. *HN* 31.42).[20] Martial in particular celebrated its waters (5.20.9, 6.42.16–21, 7.32.11 *niueas … Virginis undas*) and Seneca is nostalgic about his younger days when he swam in its waters and the Euripus (*Ep.* 83.5): *ille tantus psychrolutes, qui kalendis Ianuariis Euripum salutabam, qui anno nouo quemadmodum legere, scribere, dicere aliquid, sic auspicabar in Virginem desilire*. This was the famous channel that formed part of Agrippa's waterworks in the Campus, connecting the baths and the Stagnum to the Tiber through the fields of the Campus.[21] It is the waters of the Euripus and the Maiden, that is the Aqua Virgo, (*Euripi Virgineusque liquor*) that Ovid recalls here; *Euripi* is not plural but genitive singular, paired with the adjective, which, as often, takes the place of a genitive,[22] and

[16] Cf. C. Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge, 1996), 123.

[17] As noted by A. Scholte, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis ex Ponto Liber Primus commentario exegetico instructus* (Amersfurt, 1933), 158; cf. M. Helzle, *Ovids* Epistulae ex Ponto*. Buch I–II: Kommentar* (Heidelberg 2003), 217, who refers to the similar clustering of Augustan landmarks in *Ars* 1.72–90, including the new *Fora* (79–80).

[18] Cf. Steinby (n. 14), 4.344–5.

[19] Cf. Steinby (n. 14), 1.72–3.

[20] Cf. R.H. Rodgers, *Frontinus:* De Aquaeductu Urbis Romae (Cambridge, 2004), 176–7.

[21] Cf. Steinby (n. 14), 2.237–9; Haselberger (n. 2), 121–2.

[22] Cf. K–S 1.209–12; H–S 60–1. Ovid's connection of the genitive with an adjective may appear difficult, but cf. Caecil. *Com.* 85 *ista … noxa … muliebris magis quam uiri* and, in prose, Cic. *Leg. Man*. 33 *ante ostium Tiberinum … intra Oceani ostium*. Contributing to the tone is the use of *liquor* for *aqua*, a poeticism (*TLL* s.v. 1493.3–47) used elsewhere by Ovid only in the *Met*. (4 times) and the *Ibis* (1). Ovid's phrasing resembles Prop. 3.2.14 *Marcius … liquor*, 3.22.24 *Marcius … umor*, [Tib.] 3.6.58 *Marcia lympha*.

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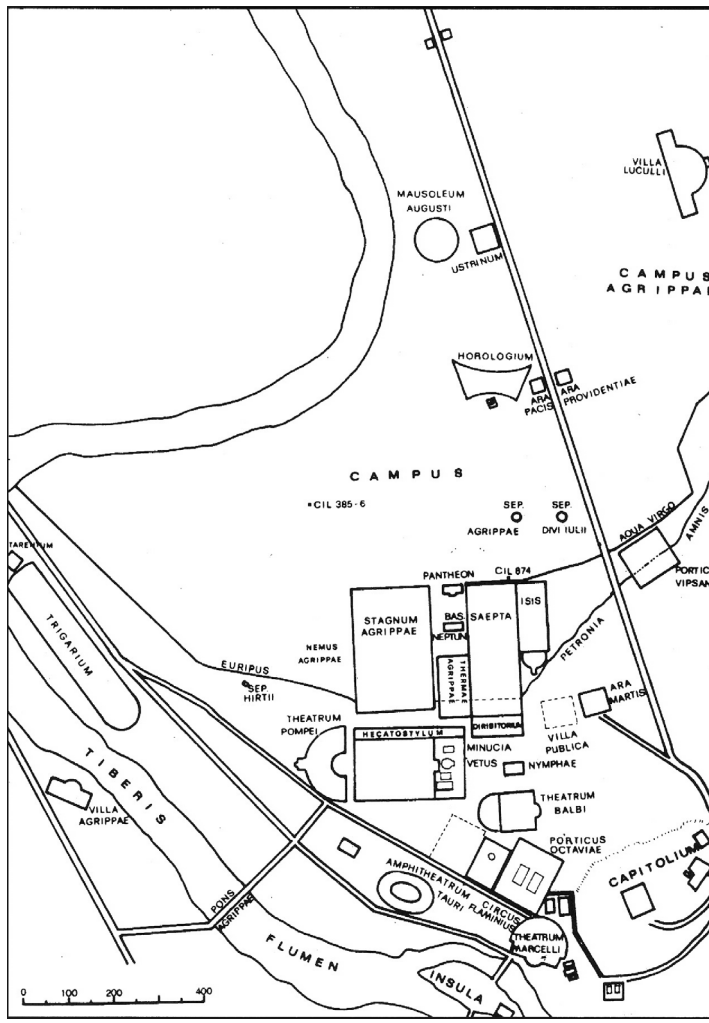


FIG. 3 Plan of the Campus Martius in the Augustan period (From F. Coarelli, 'Il Pantheon, l'apoteosi di Augusto e l'apoteosi di Romolo', *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale: Atti del seminario del 27 ottobre 1981 nel 25o anniversario dell'Accademia di Danimarca. ARID*, Supp. 10 [Odense, 1983], 43).

it should be capitalized. Ovid's evocation of the Augustan cityscape that he longs for is precise and painful.

Horace was as specific as Ovid in an allusion to the changes in this part of Augustus' Rome. He also frequented the Campus, and it is there that he vows to pursue Ligurinus (*Carm*. 4.1.37–40):

> nocturnis ego somniis
> iam captum teneo, iam uolucrem sequor
> te per gramina Martii
> Campi, te per aquas, dure, uolubilis.

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Commentators understand the *uolubilis aquas* as the 'rolling waters' of the Tiber, and refer, for example, to *Carm*. 1.8.8 for the river as a place to swim,[23] as indeed it was when Horace was composing the first three books of Odes before 23 B.C.E. But after the completion of Agrippa's waterworks in the Campus Martius in 19 B.C.E. – the baths and the Euripus – that was the place to wash off after a workout, as it was for Ovid: *usus equi nunc est, leuibus nunc luditur armis, | nunc pila, nunc celeri uoluitur orbe trochus; | nunc ubi perfusa est oleo labente iuuentus, | defessos artus Virgine tingit aqua* (*Trist*. 3.12.19–22).[24] Take *Martii Campi ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* with *aquas* to refer to the bathing facilities of the Campus, more specifically to the rolling waters of the Euripus.

With the aid of contemporary scholarship on the ancient city, we can better appreciate the detail with which Ovid represented his Rome. In making sense of his references to its topography, editors should of course recall Housman's injunction 'to have a head, not a pumpkin, on your shoulders, and brains, not pudding in your head.'[25] But add to that, a map in your hand.[26]

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[23] e.g. A. Kiessling, *Q. Horatius Flaccus: Oden und Epoden*, rev. R. Heinze (Zurich, 1968) ad loc.; cf. R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book 1* (Oxford, 1970), 113.

[24] Cf. L. Haselberger, *Urbem Adornare: Die Stadt Rom und ihre Gestaltumwandlung unter Augustus*. *JRA* Suppl. 64 (Portsmouth, RI, 2007), 123–5 on the 'städtebauliches Glanzstück' into which this part of the Campus was transformed.

[25] Housman (n. 1), 84 = Diggle and Goodyear (n. 1), 1069.

[26] This paper was much improved by the comments of Prof. J.C. McKeown and the anonymous reader for *CQ*.

A NOTE ON STATIUS, *THEBAID* 8.5

Hill prints lines 1–8, the long period which begins *Thebaid* Book 8, thus:

> Vt subitus uates pallentibus incidit umbris,
> letiferasque domos orbisque arcana sepulti
> rupit et armato turbauit funere manes,
> horror habet cunctos, Stygiis mirantur in oris
> tela et equos corpusque nouum; nec enim ignibus atris 5
> conditus aut maesta niger adventabat ab urna,
> sed belli sudore calens, clipeumque cruentis
> roribus et scissi respersus puluere campi.

Of the editions which I have consulted,[1] Hill alone chooses *atris*, found in $Q^{ac}S$, over *artus* ($KPQ^{pc}T\delta\Xi$). His choice and comment 'artus *singularis non apud Statium inuenitur et cf. 5.175, 6.81, 7.159, 11.226*' started an intermittent discussion on the

[1] The following editions have been used: J. Veenhusen (Leiden, 1671); Bipontine (Zweibrücken, 1785); Delphin (London, 1824); J.A. Amar and N.E. Lemaire (Paris, 1827); Fr. Dubner (Leipzig, 1837); G. Queck (1854); H.W. Garrod (Oxford, 1906), A. Klotz (Leipzig, 1908); J.H. Mozley (London, 1928); T. Klinnert (Leipzig, 1973); D.E. Hill (Leiden, 1983); R. Lesueur (Paris, 1991); D.R. Shackleton Bailey (London, 2003).

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